

S. 1041. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to issue a certificate of documentation with appropriate endorsement for employment in the coastwise trade for the vessel *Explorer*; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. MACK:

S. 1042. A bill to designate a route as the "POW/MIA Memorial Highway," and for other purposes; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

By Mr. STEVENS (for himself, Mr. INOUE, Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mr. SIMON, Mr. INHOFE, Mr. DODD, Mr. SIMPSON, Mr. AKAKA, Mr. SANTORUM, and Mrs. FEINSTEIN):

S. 1043. A bill to amend the Earthquake Hazards Reduction Act of 1977 to provide for an expanded Federal program of hazard mitigation, relief, and insurance against the risk of catastrophic natural disasters, such as hurricanes, earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mrs. KASSEBAUM (for herself, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. JEFFORDS, Mr. PELL, and Mr. SIMON):

S. 1044. A bill to amend title III of the Public Health Service Act to consolidate and reauthorize provisions relating to health centers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

By Mr. ABRAHAM (for himself and Mr. COATS):

S. 1045. A bill to amend the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965, the Museum Services Act, and the Arts and Artifacts Indemnity Act to privatize the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities and to transfer certain related functions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

The following concurrent resolutions and Senate resolutions were read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Mr. MACK (for himself and Mr. LIEBERMAN):

S. Res. 151. A resolution to designate May 14, 1996, and May 14, 1997, as "National Speak No Evil Day", and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ABRAHAM (for himself, Mr. DOLE, Mr. BROWN, Mr. HATCH, Mr. DEWINE, Mr. KYL, and Mr. KEMPTHORNE):

S. Res. 152. A resolution to amend the Standing Rules of the Senate to require a clause in each bill and resolution to specify the constitutional authority of the Congress for enactment, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

By Mr. DOLE (for himself and Mr. DASCHLE):

S. Res. 153. A resolution to make certain technical corrections to Senate Resolution 120; considered and agreed to.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. ABRAHAM (for himself, Mr. DOLE, Mr. BROWN, Mr. HATCH, Mr. DEWINE, Mr. KYL, and Mr. KEMPTHORNE):

S. 1039. A bill to require Congress to specify the source of authority under the U.S. Constitution for the enactment of laws, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

LEGISLATION REQUIRING SPECIFICATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY

Mr. ABRAHAM. Mr. President, I rise today to introduce two pieces of legislation. One is a bill and the other is a resolution. The effect of each is to require that every law that passes through this Chamber explicitly state the constitutional authority pursuant to which it is being enacted.

I believe this requirement will help this body by giving us occasion to pause and reflect on whether the legislation we are considering is in fact within the province of the national government.

It will also help the American people evaluate our work, keeping in mind the question of constitutionality as well as the immediate policy questions presented by the bill.

And it may discourage us, at least at the margin, from adopting legislation outside our proper sphere of authority and responsibility.

All these factors would enhance our citizenry's freedom and make it easier for them to exercise their self-governing authority at the State and local level—the level closest to the people.

Mr. President, it has become commonplace to observe that the elections of 1994 showed the voters' frustration with big government. It seems clear to me that the American people feel that the Federal Government is interfering too much in their lives.

Whether through costly and ineffective Federal programs fraught with micro-managing mandates, business regulations that increase prices and cost jobs, environmental controls that forbid farmers to use their own land in a reasonable fashion, or workplace rules that forbid workers from saving fellow workers from danger, the people have had enough of Washington-knows-best programs.

And I believe the people are right to be concerned about a government that considers everything in life to be a proper subject for Federal legislation. We are in danger in this country of instituting a kind of soft despotism that will crush our democratic liberty under the weight of well-intentioned but overzealous regulations and programs. Intended to serve the people, these laws may enslave them by taking away too much of their natural freedom of action.

That is not the National Government that our Framers envisioned. Clearly there are areas where the Federal Government should intervene to protect people's health, safety and rights. But there must likewise be areas in which the Federal Government cannot intervene in regulating the peoples' lives.

The Framers of our Constitution believed they had devised a system that would separate these areas from each other. They thought that one of the powerful limitations on the National Government would be the principle that the Congress could exercise only the limited, enumerated powers granted it by the people and set out in the Constitution.

That principle was made clear in the original Constitution, which gave Congress not general legislative authority but only "all legislative powers herein granted." And it was emphasized by the adoption of the 10th amendment in the Bill of Rights, which states that "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Until this last term the Supreme Court for decades had not struck down a law as outside Congress's powers. As a result many people claimed that the principle that Congress has only limited enumerated powers is a dead letter. But our everyday experience shows otherwise. Everybody knows that we do not turn to the National Government for help with most problems in our everyday lives. We turn to family members, friends, doctors, community or volunteer organizations, and churches; or to local government officials, such as school teachers, police men and women, and others.

The 1994 congressional elections were in large measure about the size of government. And in my view, Mr. President, those elections made one thing very clear: The belief that our National Government should have only limited powers remains alive in the hearts of the people.

The most important efforts of this Congress have been undertaken to respond to the people's demand for prompt and serious action to return the National Government to its proper functions.

The budget that we have been debating for the past few days is the first in many years to take that responsibility very seriously.

The regulatory reform legislation currently on the floor is similarly an effort to impose reasonable and meaningful restrictions on the interventions of regulatory bureaucracies in our lives.

The proposals to abolish Cabinet Departments will likewise get the National Government out of areas where it does not belong.

It is in this context that we should consider the Supreme Court's decision a few months ago in United States versus Lopez and the rather modest legislative proposals I am introducing today. In Lopez, the Supreme Court for the first time in 60 years struck down an act of Congress as exceeding the powers granted it in the Constitution. The Court ruled that a Federal law about guns in schools was beyond Congress' powers because its connection to commerce was too remote.

Now I think there are few higher priorities than reversing the accelerating decline of our schools into armed camps. But, not surprisingly, so do the States, which is why almost all of them already have laws addressing this problem.